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Occupational Preferences of Northern Students

Social Science Notes – 5



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By Derek G. Smith

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Abstract

This is a report on the initial findings of a questionnaire study conducted among over one thousand high school students of all ethnic groups in the Mackenzie River delta, Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay. The questionnaires explored the occupational prestige values and occupational aspirations of the students, and found a strong correlation between all ethnic groups. It was further apparent that the school students attended, rather than their ethnic affiliation, was a principal factor in determining this similarity. Stated preferences on conditions or milieu of employment indicated that students of all ethnic groups were similar in preferring employment with large enterprises within the context of a northern urban complex or southern city. The patterns of occupational preference indicated by students were compared with those of teachers asked to complete the questionnaire "as they thought a native student might do". A marked dissonance between the students' stated preferences and the teachers' conception of these preferences was detected, and some suggestions for the reasons and implications of this dissonance are offered.

Acknowledgements

Michael H. Capelle, research assistant, collected the questionnaires for this study from Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay in the autumn of 1970 and processed the data through the initial stages of computer analysis. I acknowledge with gratitude his hard work and ingenuity in this task.

The original data on the Mackenzie River delta was compiled by myself in 1967 with the generous assistance of the principals and staffs of the schools at Aklavik, Inuvik, and Fort McPherson. I must add a special note of thanks to the students for their assistance in completing the questionnaires and for providing further information in conversations, group discussions, and interviews.

The provision of computer services by the computer centres at the University of Victoria and Carleton University is acknowledged with gratitude.

Most especially, thanks are due to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (especially the Northern Science Research Group, and A.J. Kerr, Chief of that Group) who provided financial and technical assistance for this study.

This study is intended for use by people other than fellow social scientists. Naturally a certain amount of technical language and procedures has been used in the analysis, but an attempt has been made to explain these as clearly as possible where they occur. Statistical analysis is inevitable in attempting to present a mass of data of the kind used here. This kind of analysis, helps to standardize analytical techniques and means of drawing inferences which, although they may seem obscure at first glance, are based for the most part on fairly simple calculations. An appendix provides information on the statistical procedure employed. Most statistical tables and a summary of research findings are placed at the end of this study.

It is my hope that this study will prove intelligible and useful to those charged with the responsibility for policy in northern education and administration.

Derek G. Smith

This study began in a curious way. It shows very clearly some of the problems in any attempt by anthropologists to communicate their research findings to people outside their discipline. After several months of intensive research in the Mackenzie River delta into problems of social stratification, poverty, and political marginality among the native people I was asked by some persons in government why "the natives had such low aspirations". They were surprised, and more than a little sceptical, when I suggested that there were few major differences in occupational aspirations between native and non-native (EuroCanadian) school children. A heated exchange followed. I was told that a young academic like myself with only a few months of Arctic experience could hardly be expected to know very much about such things. They contended that I could hardly expect "old hands" with many years of experience in Arctic social problems to accept such apparently glib and ill-considered opinions, especially since they seemed to contradict all established opinion.

They were quite right to be so sceptical. One hopes that the day is swiftly passing when only anthropological egg-heads have an edge on truth about the pressing social problems facing native people. They were right to prefer their own opinions tested and weighed against the successes and failures, anxieties and hopes, and unquestionable sense of commitment as they experienced life in the Arctic. The hired "experts" who swarm into the North each year, buzzing around like black flies to annoy the inhabitants have become a seasonal pest to busy people. They want more than opinions, no matter how erudite or how carefully considered. We all have opinions ; and all our opinions are generally the products of our experience.

The experience of an anthropologist, however, is different from that of others in the social system. Typically, he tries to immerse himself in the way of life of the people he is studying. His training and disposition equip him to do this, although the extent to which he really achieves it must always be questionable. He gathers data systematically and sifts it according to various procedures of his discipline ; he tries to hear and see and participate in as many daily situations as possible. Ideally, he takes no opinion or impression or gem of well-tried conventional local wisdom at face value. He examines it from many aspects and tries to cross-check it as thoroughly as possible. He attempts to cultivate scepticism, especially about those things which most people take for granted : only then is an opinion formed. His opinions, not unnaturally, may look rather strange to others ; but like theirs, his are the product of personal experience. The strangeness of his opinions along with the cultivated scepticism may make him look like a poseur. Here is the dilemma for conventional descriptive anthropological research : how to allow others to share in

the anthropological experience and its product and in the procedures by which inference is made. For the "applied anthropologist", the one who is concerned with analyzing current social problems so as to advise on the formulation of social policy, this becomes especially problematic.

The failure of my first attempt to convince some people that native people were not very different from Euro-Canadians in occupational preference sent me back to the field with a determination to demonstrate not only to others, but to myself, the validity of my opinions. What seemed to be needed was a systematic survey of the problem in a form which made clear the established rules of inference and of testing the significance of data and conclusions. Research in occupational preference is well established in the social sciences. A questionnaire modelled closely on those used in other areas was prepared, administered to all of the school children in grades 7 and 8 in the Aklavik school, and analyzed using standard statistical methods. Although the survey group consisted of about thirty students only, it demonstrated a very close parallel in occupational preferences between native and EuroCanadian students. On the one hand there was pleasure in seeing hypotheses based upon participant observation research borne out by analysis of another kind ; on the other hand there was increased desire to gather a larger sample to see to what extent the conclusions could be generalized to other student populations in the Mackenzie delta.

The principals and staffs of the schools in Aklavik, Inuvik, and Fort McPherson took an active and critical interest in this work. They made it possible to pass the questionnaire to every school pupil in the Mackenzie delta in grades 7 through 12 and in the "occupational class" at Inuvik (a special program for teen-aged, age-grade retarded pupils training for immediate entry to the labour force). The conclusions, based on the original Aklavik survey population, were now clearly and indisputably corroborated in a survey population of over three hundred respondents.

Naturally, one then began to wonder whether the results for the Mackenzie delta were unique or if there were similarities to other Arctic areas. Facilities provided by the Northern Science Research Group (INA) and kind co-operation by the principals and staffs of high schools in Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay made it possible to survey all pupils in grade 7 to 12 inclusive. The total population surveyed was about one thousand pupils. Trends similar to those in the Mackenzie delta are shown in these data. A research task which began in a small way grew and offers preliminary insights into an area of northern social life on which little research had so far been done. The results are preliminary, for while they have

partially answered some questions, they have suggested others which may have far-reaching implications in our understanding of the North, and which will require research and social effort far beyond a study of this scale.

The Problem

Does the fact that a person is scientifically, legally, or conventionally labelled Eskimo, Indian, Métis or white mean that he is necessarily totally distinguishable culturally from members of other groups? Do cultural boundaries necessarily follow these ethnic lines? Does cultural descent from distinctive aboriginal sources by people caught up in the rapid social changes of the western Arctic necessarily mean that they will respond differently, or think differently, about what they want from life? Indeed, is it necessary at all to invoke the concept of culture to explain differential behaviour in situations of this kind, or in so doing are we using a sledgehammer to crush a butterfly? These are questions of more than academic interest, for it can be shown that differences between white and native people or between Indians and Eskimos are frequently explained (or explained away) by people other than anthropologists by resorting to some variant of the culture concept, and this plays a crucial role in shaping social life in the North.

Let it be clear from the outset that this study does *not* claim that there are *no* cultural differences between various Indian, Eskimo, Métis, and EuroCanadian groups: such differences have been amply illustrated. The study, however, asks: "Is it *really* 'culture', at least in any simple or conventional sense, which accounts for differences in occupational preference or achievement? Or does a 'structuralist' explanation in terms of access to different opportunities more readily explain these differences?"

A decision whether the problem is a cultural one or a social-structural one make a difference, particularly when we engage in programs of planned social change. If we decide the problem is a cultural one, that is, one of learned and patterned modes of thinking, feeling, and acting shared by a group of people, then we would engage in programs of education (in the broadest sense), persuasion, or proselytizing. If we decide the problem is a structural one, our programs will focus on providing equal opportunity and access for persons and groups to informational, power, and economic resources. The cultural explanation, in effect, locates the source of differences between people within their group histories and particularly in the unique attitudinal products (values, opinions, sentiments, ethics) of this historical experience. For the structuralists the problem is not so much in the products of attitude as in the historical patterns of social interaction, particularly the economic and political.

This distinction, here but crudely drawn, identifies one of the great continuing controversies in social science. The culturalists claim that social, economic, and political patterns of interaction are a product of human cognitive, attitudinal, and valuational creativity. For the structuralists

(at least for one specialized group of them) values, attitudes, opinions, sentiments – in a word, culture – are merely the superstructure generated by underlying economic and political structures. Banfield (1958) accounts for the backwardness of social life in Southern Italy by showing how feelings of mistrust between people outside the immediate kinship group frustrates the development of co-operative structures on a wider basis which would lead to economic and political betterment. Silverman (1968) reviews and dissects Banfield's treatise and claims that, to the contrary, injection of economic capital into the area would see these values of familism disintegrate and realign into modern patterns of social interaction. Lewis (1965) accounts for the apparent self-perpetuating nature of poverty by his "subculture of poverty" concept which seeks to show that under certain conditions distinctive social values passed on from generation to generation keep the poor in a state of poverty despite attempts to better themselves. Valentine (1968) attempts systematically to turn Lewis's and other arguments on their heads by claiming that any such distinctive "subculture of poverty" values, if indeed they exist, are a product or a superstructure of the real causes of poverty, which he seeks to show lie in the economic and other structural conditions external to the poor in the social system within which they are embedded and victimized. The argument rages on and on. Despite several attempts, the two points of view (or perhaps more properly their proponents) are not easily reconciled. It is important to identify them here, for both have been important in the study of occupational preference comparisons between ethnic, class, and national groups.

In the North one frequently hears variants of the cultural explanation for the apparent lack of success of native people in education and employment. One argument states that low achievement and low vertical mobility are a product of low aspirations or a product of aspirations derived from an aboriginal background which is incompatible with the modern way of life and, therefore, uncompetitive. "They have a different sense of time; they don't like to work 9 to 5 because they still like the freedom of hunting and trapping." "They don't like jobs where they're stuck indoors all day because they're used to an outdoor way of life for centuries." "They don't like jobs where they are under the boss's nose all the time because they don't like being ordered around; they prefer the freedom of self-employment provided in the traditional way of life." "They prefer a life on the land or in the smaller traditional settlements, because that's what they're used to; they don't like jobs which demand full-time, long-term commitment; they want to hunt and trap or take a day or a month off when they feel like it." Versions of all of these are commonplace in northern life and have become a stereotype. Such

stereotypes significantly influence interaction between native people and EuroCanadians. Not all Northerners hold these points of view in the same way, as Vallee (1967), Cohen (1962) and Smith (1969) have pointed out. A member of the former Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources states in the departmental magazine *North* (February, 1963) that

today, the Eskimo . . . is still not far removed in his thinking from his aboriginal stone-age forebears, despite nearly half a century of contact with traders, missionaries, and government officials. He is still improvident to an extreme, lacking in foresight, tradition-bound and superstitious – primarily a gatherer of food, tied to the ways of his ancestors by economic habits and traditions of behaviour much stronger than the average southern Canadian would realize.

A fundamentalist religious publication widely distributed in the Western Arctic states that

God has designed Eskimos to live like Eskimos in Eskimo country. To take them away from their native environment would be like taking an Arab from the desert to the swampy jungles, or the jungle Native to the burning sands (Ledyard n.d. :51).

The belief that these conditions of aboriginal culture persist and account for the failure of native peoples to achieve when judged by outside standards have led to the conceptualization of northern social development in terms of a stark dichotomy of choice for native people. An eminent Arctic anthropologist in concluding one of his best known works writes

in front of the Cathedral at Rheims stands one of the most beautiful works in Gothic art, the statue of a king. The gaze under the calm brows seems to delve searchingly into the thoughts of the observer, the fingers of the left hand still linger hesitatingly on the cord of the cape, but the right hand is already outstretched in firm decision. Let this be a symbol of the relation of the white race to the Eskimos – in Greenland, in Alaska, everywhere (Birkett-Smith 1959 : 232).

Another commentator states in an educational journal that northern development

... requires offering these isolated populations a clearcut choice: *of remaining in remote hunting communities with a minimum of outside influence . . . or of relocating in regions of Canada that have a genuine potential for economic and social growth . . .* The second alternative would, of course, entail

educating entire families to their fullest capacity so that they could participate completely and vitally in modern society (Keenleyside 1968 : 212 ; emphasis his).

Given the prevalence of cultural explanations and designs for social action based upon them it is fitting that they should be examined closely to ensure that all their implications are clearly understood.

The examination of prestige ranking scales for occupations is well established in sociology since North and Hatt's (1947) seminal study of these features in the United States. Inkeles and Rossi (1956) were able to compare the occupational prestige structures of Germany, Japan, Great Britain, New Zealand, the United States, and the U.S.S.R.: the six nations for which comparable data were then available. Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi (1966) subsequently were able to expand this study to twenty-four industrial and non-industrial nations. Comparisons of occupational structures between social segments (such as age-cohorts, classes, and ethnic groups) have also been made (cf. e.g. Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf 1968 ; Kuvlesky and Pelham 1966 ; Middleton and Grigg 1959 ; Burchinal 1961 ; Haller and Sewell 1957 ; Gist and Bennett 1963 ; Antonovsky and Lerner 1959 ; Armer 1968).

Much of this research indicates that there is

... little evidence to favor the "culturalist" position that "within each country or culture the distinctive local value system would result in substantial – sometimes extreme – differences in the evaluation of particular jobs in the standardized modern occupational system" and much to support the "structuralist" contention that "there is a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the context of larger social systems which are otherwise differentiated in important respects (Hodge, Treiman, and Ross 1966 :310 ; cf. also Inkeles and Rossi 1956 :339).

Fundamental similarities in occupational prestige structures are encountered across national, class, ethnic, regional, rural-urban, and "modernized" -versus- "traditionalistic" boundaries. To a striking degree the evidence

... speaks out strongly against a relativistic "culturalist" position which has been posed as a polar alternative to a "structuralist" hypothesis. Whatever variations local cultural traditions generate in the prestige standing of occupations must be of such a minor order that they tend to be obscured in the national comparisons which have been made (Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi 1966 :310).

Table 1 – Age characteristics of pupil respondent population by ethnic group and place of instruction

	No info.	Age at Closest Birthday										Total N	Median Age	
		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+			
Indians, Mackenzie Delta	2	—	1	9	7	9	11	10	11	1	8	69	15.7	
Indians, Yellowknife	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	8	3	5	5	28	16.8	
Indians, Churchill	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	4	17.5	
Eskimo, Mackenzie Delta	—	—	—	4	9	11	22	8	10	10	4	78	15.7	
Eskimo, Yellowknife	—	—	—	1	—	5	2	4	6	5	2	25	17.0	
Eskimo, Churchill	—	—	—	3	14	48	82	47	27	11	—	232	15.2	
Eskimo, Frobisher Bay	—	—	—	4	7	2	2	—	—	—	—	15	13.5	
Métis, Mackenzie Delta	—	—	2	3	10	12	11	3	8	5	4	58	15.0	
Métis, Yellowknife	—	—	—	—	—	9	9	12	4	6	2	42	16.2	
EuroCanadian, Mackenzie Delta	2	—	1	19	18	13	19	12	11	3	1	99	14.5	
EuroCanadian, Yellowknife	—	—	1	9	58	80	69	67	24	12	7	327	14.8	
EuroCanadian, Frobisher Bay	—	1	12	8	5	3	1	1	—	—	—	31	12.3	
Totals, All Groups		4	1	17	60	128	192	235	174	106	58	33	1008	15.4

Table 2 a) – Age characteristics of pupil respondent population by ethnic group

	No Info.	Age at Closest Birthday										Total N	Median Age	
		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+			
All Eskimo	—	—	—	12	30	66	108	59	43	26	6	350	15.6	
All Indians	2	—	1	9	7	9	18	20	16	6	13	101	16.2	
All Métis	—	—	2	3	10	21	20	15	12	11	6	100	15.7	
All EuroCanadians	2	1	14	36	81	96	89	80	35	15	8	457	14.9	
Totals		4	1	17	60	128	192	235	174	106	58	33	1008	15.4

Table 2 b) – Age characteristics of pupil respondent population by place of instruction

	No Info.	Age at Closest Birthday										Total N	Median Age	
		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20+			
Mackenzie Delta	4	—	4	35	44	45	63	33	40	19	17	304	15.4	
Yellowknife	—	—	1	10	58	94	87	91	37	28	16	422	15.5	
Churchill	—	—	—	3	14	48	82	49	29	11	—	236	15.5	
Frobisher Bay	—	1	12	12	12	5	3	1	—	—	—	46	12.9	
Totals		4	1	17	60	128	192	235	174	106	58	33	1008	15.4

In short, the strong similarity between occupational prestige structures in the various social and cultural contexts surveyed seems to indicate that we are dealing with structures generated not out of local cultural tradition, but out of the highly differentiated structural conditions which have emerged in dense populations with complex divisions of labour.

The polarized culturalist versus structuralist argument over occupational prestige comparisons is in some senses a false one. We are dealing with *evaluation* when we deal with prestige structures ; evaluations are *learned* and, as the research in this area has shown, are widely *shared*. In short, we are dealing with cultural phenomena, but they

are not cultural phenomena as we have been disposed to think of them in the past. We have been used to thinking of the culture concept as a *partitive* one, as one expressing the considerable variety and local uniquenesses of human learned and shared ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. When we encounter phenomena common to a variety of social systems we are inclined to discount them as being culture. In the past we have readily assumed that culture follows and divides along such lines as national, tribal, ethnic, or class boundaries. But if we are to take seriously one of the oldest and most widely accepted themes in the history of the culture concept – namely, that ways of valuing and thinking which are shared by people are learned from their social experience – then we must accept that

some of the conditions of social life in which people do their learning transcend our conventional divisions of people into national, class, or ethnic categories. Especially in the last century, many sectors of the world population have been exposed to structural conditions which, while maintaining local historical peculiarities, are fundamentally similar. We must now be prepared to consider the ways in which cultural similarities and differences are established and maintained in structural contexts which bear little relation to our conventional categories. Instead of readily *assuming* that cultural divisions clearly follow ethnic, class, and national lines we must refine our technique of analysis sufficiently to demonstrate exactly when and under what conditions this is so. This study will show that differences and similarities in occupational prestige structures among northern school pupils bear only limited affinity to ethnic boundaries, but bear much stronger affinities to other features of social differentiation. The analysis is exploratory, because virtually no research has been done in the North on phenomena of this kind.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed to elicit information on (a) respondents' prestige evaluations of a reasonably representative list of occupations encountered or known about in the North; (b) respondents' preferences for conditions of employment (e.g. hours of work, indoor/outdoor work, self-employment); (c) respondents' single most and single least preferred occupation for themselves; (d) respondents' preference for place of residence (e.g. large urban settings, or traditional northern settlements, etc.).

The questionnaire was completed by all respondents during school hours. In Aklavik they were administered by myself, in Inuvik and Fort McPherson by classroom teachers under my instructions, and in Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay by classroom teachers under the instructions of a research assistant. In each school the questionnaire was completed in all classrooms at the same time and on the same day. Virtually all items on the questionnaire, which took approximately 25 minutes to complete, were ranking tasks requiring the respondent to write a number next to a job title or alternative statement about working conditions.

Portions of the same questionnaire were administered to teachers with instructions to complete them as they thought a native pupil might do. This was done to have some measure of the differences and similarities between what native pupils said of their own occupational preferences and teachers' conceptions of them.

The Survey Populations

Questionnaires were completed by every pupil present on

the appointed day in the designated grades in each school. Spot checks of school registers for these days showed that absenteeism was, in general, less than normal for the same season in the three preceding years. The respondent population accounted for nearly all pupils in grades 7 through 12 (including the Inuvik occupational grade 6) in six widely separated northern schools. Data on age, sex, settlement of origin, legal ethnic status, and present grade in school were provided by each respondent. These characteristics are summarized in Tables 1 through 4. The schools selected were chosen because (a) they are among the largest in the North, ensuring populations of reasonable size for analysis, and (b) because they were known to contain populations heterogeneous along one or all of the following dimensions: age, sex, type of settlement of origin, and ethnic group affiliation. The criterion of heterogeneity is important, because one of the initial reasons for this research was to examine how various kinds of social differentiation influence similarities or differences among students with respect to occupational prestige structures and other related phenomena.

Table 3 – Distribution of sex of pupil respondent population, (a) by ethnic group and place of instruction, (b) by ethnic group, and (c) by place of instruction

	Male N	Female N	Total N
(a) by Ethnic Group and Place of Instruction			
Indians, Mackenzie Delta	29	40	69
Indians, Yellowknife	16	12	28
Indians, Churchill	4	—	4
Eskimo, Mackenzie Delta	45	33	78
Eskimo, Yellowknife	17	8	25
Eskimo, Churchill	139	93	232
Eskimo, Frobisher Bay	10	5	15
Métis, Mackenzie Delta	27	31	58
Métis, Yellowknife	20	22	42
EuroCanadian, Mackenzie Delta	49	50	99
EuroCanadian, Yellowknife	172	155	327
EuroCanadian, Frobisher Bay	17	14	31
Totals	545	463	1008
(b) by Ethnic Group			
All Eskimo	211	139	350
All Indians	49	52	101
All Métis	47	53	100
All EuroCanadian	238	219	457
Totals	545	463	1008
(c) by Place of Instruction			
Mackenzie Delta	150	154	304
Yellowknife	225	197	422
Churchill	143	93	236
Frobisher Bay	27	19	46
Totals	545	463	1008

Table 4 –Distribution by present grade in school, pupil respondent population, (a) by ethnic group and place of instruction, (b) by ethnic group, (c) by place of instruction

Occup.*	7	Present Grade in School					Total N
		8	9	10	11	12	
(a) by Ethnic Group and Place of Instruction							
Indians, Mackenzie Delta	12	26	3	13	7	7	69
Indians, Yellowknife	—	—	—	5	8	11	28
Indians, Churchill	—	—	—	3	—	—	4
Eskimos, Mackenzie Delta	11	33	6	11	7	6	78
Eskimos, Yellowknife	—	—	—	10	5	5	25
Eskimos, Churchill	—	105	70	57	—	—	232
Eskimos, Frobisher Bay	—	11	2	2	—	—	15
Métis, Mackenzie Delta	4	21	8	8	5	6	58
Métis, Yellowknife	—	—	—	6	16	6	42
EuroCanadian, Mackenzie Delta	—	40	8	16	13	13	99
EuroCanadian, Yellowknife	—	—	—	86	88	78	327
EuroCanadian, Frobisher Bay	—	16	8	7	—	—	31
Totals	27	252	105	224	149	142	111
(b) by Ethnic Group							
All Indians	12	26	3	21	15	18	6
All Eskimos	11	149	78	80	12	11	9
All Métis	4	21	8	14	21	22	12
All EuroCanadians	—	56	16	109	101	91	84
Totals	27	252	105	224	149	142	111
(c) by Place of Instruction							
Mackenzie Delta, all groups	27	120	25	48	32	32	20
Yellowknife, all groups	—	—	—	107	117	110	90
Churchill, all groups	—	105	70	60	—	—	1
Frobisher Bay, all groups	—	27	10	9	—	—	—
Totals	27	252	105	224	149	142	111

*Occup. – "Occupational class" consisting of students 14 years of age and over and 3 or more years age-grade retarded.

It must be remembered that conclusions drawn from these data cannot be applied to schools and groups other than those used in the study. *The conclusions apply only to the populations surveyed*, because they are neither a sample of all northern pupils, nor a sample of all northern social categories. Student populations were chosen because most of their members would be leaving school within five years of the survey, presumably with hopes of entering the labour force. Extensions of this research are designed to examine the post-school occupations of these northern students and to compare them with their stated evaluations and aspirations. An attempt will then be made to measure any detectable difference between aspirations and actual opportunity so as to compare the various sub-populations. The ultimate relevance of our present data, then, will be to analyse the mechanisms of stratification and vertical social mobility in the North.

The teacher populations were selected to determine what differences there were between students' assessment of their own occupational evaluations and aspirations and the ways in which these were conceived by some of the people who, it is assumed, play a significant role in streaming

students into educational programs which will lead to employment. The questionnaire was administered to all teachers present on the day of survey in the schools at Aklavik, Inuvik, Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay. Teachers were told that they were not obliged to complete the questionnaire, although 55 agreed to. Only one or two declined to do so. Information provided by them on their length of residence in the North and their assessments of their degree of contact with native people is summarized in Tables 5 and 6.

Analysis of Response I: Pupils.

Prestige Ranking of Occupations

The questionnaire first instructed pupils to rank each of forty-eight occupational titles on a scale starting at 1 ("jobs which you think are the best kinds of jobs"). It may be argued that wording the ranking question in this way would make it more difficult to compare with the results of other studies which set the task of ranking jobs in terms of higher or lower "prestige", "social status", or "social standing" (cf. Hodge, Treiman and Rossi 1966:314). In comparing tasks however, the effect of different wording does not seem important (cf. Hodge, Treiman and Rossi

Table 5 – Teachers' length of residence in the North and in community surveyed

Length of Residence	In the North		In Present Community	
	N	%	N	%
Less than one year	11	14.8	22	26.5
1 to 5 years	50	67.6	50	67.6
More than 5 years	13	17.6	2	5.9
Totals	74	100.0	74	100.0

Table 6 – Teachers' descriptions of their opportunity for contact with native people at work and in recreational activities

Estimated Degree of Contact	At Work		In Clubs and Community Activities	
	N	%		
Seldom	2	5.8	28	38.2
Occasional	9	11.8	24	35.3
Frequent	63	82.4	22	26.5
Totals	74	100.0	74	100.0

ibid.), and in any case our aim here is to compare the responses of the northern groups with each other, not with the responses from other areas and other surveys. The occupations listed are a sample of forty-eight titles selected at random from an original list of over two hundred. The original list, compiled with the assistance of several native people, contained every occupational title for jobs normally found in the Mackenzie delta or which native people knew about through the news media, school instruction, or from other sources. The list is somewhat biased to the lower end of the socio-economic scale.

Frequency distribution of responses for each population subgroup (e.g. Yellowknife Eskimos, Mackenzie delta Indians) over each of the five possible response positions for each occupational title were assembled by computer. The median for each of these titles was determined by computer and then ranked and correlated by Spearman's rho. Hereafter, this statistic is shown as r_s . The occupational title with a median response nearest 1.00 was ranked number 1, and so on through to the median closest to 5.00 which indicated that the associated occupational title was considered least desirable. A correlation matrix of these r_s values was then constructed to determine the degree of association between the ranked prestige profile of each population sub-group with every other (see Table 7). This shows that each population sub-group was essentially similar to every other since the r_s values are consistently high. Nevertheless, there is obvious differentiation between these values, which indicates that the occupational prestige structures of some groups are more similar than others. We shall identify some of these clusters and try to account for them.

The most obvious clusters of high correlation value are between the members of all four ethnic groups who attend the same school. This is particularly true of the Mackenzie delta and Yellowknife school areas (the areas blocked out on Table 7). The high internal consistency of correlation values within these schools (Mackenzie delta + .85 to + .90 and Yellowknife + .80 to + .91) indicates the strong possibility that *what best accounts for the similarity of pupils' responses is the situation in the school which they attend. Ethnicity, while important, takes second place to this factor*. Put another way, if the r_s values are converted to r_s^2 values (see Appendix), we may say that "place of schooling" accounts for 64 percent to 83 percent of the common variance between the responses of pupils within these schools. When r_s^2 values for Mackenzie delta and Yellowknife ethnic subgroups are compared with ethnic subgroups in other schools there is a drop in common variance of as much as 23 percent. Ethnicity, then, is the second factor accounting for similarities and differences in prestige structures.

When we say that "place of schooling" seems to be the factor most associated with establishing similarities in occupational prestige structures across ethnic lines, it is by no means clear on the basis of present evidence which characteristics of the "place of schooling" can be said to be the major "causes" in this process. Future research may show that it is any one or a combination of such characteristics as (a) differences in curriculum, (b) whether the school is residential or non-residential (i.e. provides a comprehensive "homogenizing" or "modernizing" environment), (c) whether there are differences in previous educational or schooling experiences between the pupils of these schools, (d) differences in the urban milieux of these schools which present different occupational role-models and evaluations for the pupils, (e) such factors as difference in socio-economic status of pupils or pupils' parents, or (f) differences in the occupational role-models presented to the pupils by different teachers and vocational guidance programs. Whatever the specific "causes", our evidence clearly shows that when members of the various ethnic groups from a wide diversity of home settlements (literally the whole of the Western and Central Arctic and Sub-Arctic) are found together in one school a considerable similarity in occupational evaluations develops among them which, to an important degree, transcends ethnic or home settlement backgrounds.

While our evidence shows that "place of schooling" takes precedence over ethnic origin, ethnic origin is of some importance. It is also clear that two of the ethnic groups (Eskimo and Indian) show less internal similarity than is shown among Métis and EuroCanadians. Table 8 summarizes measures of "within-group" similarity from data

presented in Table 7. The reasons for a relatively lower measure of within-group similarity among Eskimos and Indians are obscure. The trend for EuroCanadians to have relatively high within-group similarity is highly consistent with other findings (cf. e.g. Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi 1966; Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi 1966; Pineo and Porter 1967).

Also of great interest is the tendency for Métis groups to bear a strong similarity to EuroCanadians with r_s values from +.77 to +.90 (r_s average +.86). These findings are consistent with the suggestions by the Honigmanns (1970:74, 94, 110, 192-205) that during early socialization Métis children with EuroCanadian fathers have more opportunity of access to EuroCanadian role-models than children of other native groups, and tend to resemble EuroCanadians in several important respects. The relatively less internal similarity of occupational ranking within the Eskimo and Indian ethnic groups probably indicates that our conceptions of ethnic groups as being culturally homogeneous internally are too facile. This applies to our legal, social stereotypic, and conventional anthropological assumptions about ethnicity. Further research may well show that regional and socio-economic status dimensions of differentiation cross-cut these broad ethnic categories in significant ways. Likewise, the similarity of Métis to EuroCanadian occupational values may have less to do with ethnicity *per se* than with certain socio-economic status or social class features conjoined with ethnicity. "Pan-Eskimo" or "pan-Indian" concepts, at least when

applied to the features of occupational evaluation examined here, are not strongly supported by our evidence. We are probably dealing, not with a small number of homogeneous ethnic groups, but with a larger number of status groups which are characterized by a combination of features in which ethnicity, while it plays a part, is far from being the sole or most significant defining characteristic.

Table 9 shows that native people consistently agreed on evaluating technical, skilled, and clerical/administrative positions highest on the scale; especially airplane pilot and other airline-associated occupations, such as radio-operator, electrician, store clerk, and typist/office worker. In contrast, EuroCanadians place most of these (with the exception of airlines occupations) consistently below the classic professions (doctor, lawyer, scientist). All groups agree that unskilled, general labour occupations (garbage-man, janitor, warehouseman, barge crew) are at the bottom of the scale. All but one of the groups places reindeer herding among the five lowest ranking occupations. The greatest consistent difference between EuroCanadians and native people is in evaluating the "classic" professions, e.g. lawyer, doctor, teacher. While EuroCanadians typically place them at the top of the scale, native people place them generally below the mid-line of the prestige scale. Of interest, too, is the fact that native people place some of the typical government project occupations (fur-garment worker, tannery worker, boat-builder) well below the mid-line of the scale.

Table 7 – Correlation matrix (Spearman's rho — r_s) of occupational evaluation ranks, Northern pupils by ethnic group and place of instruction

	Delta Indian	Delta Eskimo	Delta Métis	Delta Euro-Canadian	Yellowknife Indian	Yellowknife Eskimo	Yellowknife Métis	Yellowknife Euro-Canadian	Churchill Eskimo	Frobisher Eskimo	Frobisher Euro-Canadian
Delta Indian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delta Eskimo	+ .89	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delta Métis	+ .86	+ .89	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delta Euro-Canadian	+ .89	+ .85	+ .90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yellowknife Indian	+ .73	+ .78	+ .84	+ .77	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yellowknife Eskimo	+ .70	+ .76	+ .80	+ .77	+ .91	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yellowknife Métis	+ .77	+ .83	+ .87	+ .85	+ .85	+ .88	—	—	—	—	—
Yellowknife Euro-Canadian	+ .82	+ .85	+ .89	+ .93	+ .80	+ .84	+ .91	—	—	—	—
Churchill Eskimo	+ .74	+ .73	+ .91	+ .88	+ .79	+ .72	+ .83	+ .65	—	—	—
Frobisher Eskimo	+ .67	+ .77	+ .69	+ .73	+ .79	+ .75	+ .71	+ .69	+ .68	—	—
Frobisher Euro-Canadian	+ .80	+ .80	+ .84	+ .89	+ .72	+ .82	+ .77	+ .81	+ .64	+ .82	—

Note: all correlations are highly significant at .01

Table 8 – Measures of similarity within ethnic and “place of schooling” groups, Northern pupil respondent population

Grouping	Measure of Correlation	Approx. Estimate of Common Variance (r_s^2)	“Within-group” Similarity
Mackenzie Delta Schools, all Ethnic groups	$+ .86 (r_s, ave.)$ r_s range $+.80$ to $+.91$.64 to .82	high
Yellowknife Schools, all Ethnic Groups	$+ .86 (r_s, ave.)$ r_s range $+.85$ to $+.90$.72 to .81	high
All Eskimos	$+ .73 (r_s, ave.)$ r_s range $+.64$ to $+.76$.41 to .57	low
All Indians	$+ .73$ r_s two groups	.53	low
All Métis	$+ .87$ r_s two groups	.75	high
All EuroCanadians	$+ .87$ r_s range $+.81$ to $+.93$.65 to .86	high

Only Churchill Eskimos accord a relatively high rank position to hunting and trapping, often thought to be a highly preferred occupation by native people. All other groups place it well below the mid-line of the scale. Yellowknife and Mackenzie delta EuroCanadians, Mackenzie delta Indians and Eskimos, and Yellowknife Métis place it well within the bottom third of the scale.

Curiously, the lowest ranking accorded the title “miner” is by Yellowknife EuroCanadians. Mining is one of the predominant industries in the Yellowknife area.

Individual Occupational Preference

The second section of the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate the single job they personally would most like to do. Presumably, responses to this question are a reasonably close indication of individual occupational aspirations (or what respondents would most like to do, other things being equal). This must be distinguished from general profiles of prestige ranking on the one hand (although individual aspirations tend to be ranked relatively high on the general scale) and from expectations by individuals of what they will *actually* end up doing for a living. By comparison with the system of categories for Canadian occupations (cf. Pineo and Porter 1967 : 36-40), all occupational titles were grouped into seven categories (professional, semi-professional, etc.). Total respondents indicating individual preference for titles in these categories were determined for each ethnic group in each “place of instruction”. These data are presented in Table 10. Only a limited number of the groups represented are sufficiently large for reliable statistical testing of the significance of differences and similarities of distribution in these categories by percentages (e.g. all of the EuroCanadian groups and Churchill Eskimo). The statistically significant trends among these are for EuroCanadians to place greater emphasis on the professions and for native people to emphasize semi-

skilled and unskilled occupations. It is also clear that native people place as much emphasis on proprietary and managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled trade occupations as EuroCanadians. In fact, other field evidence suggests that many native people consider the clerical office work, indoor jobs as almost the archetype of the desirable sort of occupation. This is made clear in Table 10, which shows the five most preferred individual occupational titles for each group with the percentage of persons in each group so indicating. Each group lists at least one of the clerical and sales types of occupations among the five most preferred.

Preferred Conditions of Employment

Those who subscribe to culturalist concepts derived from the aboriginal or traditional model have frequently stated that native people have a strong dislike for employment with large corporations. The data presented in Table 12 show that the order of preference for *all* groups is: first, employment with a large corporation; second, employment with a small company; and *least* preferred is self-employment. This probably reflects an association between jobs with large corporations and the archetype of the desirable job with steady, high-level income. Self-employment is probably associated with precarious entrepreneurial activities in smaller settlements and with hunting and trapping, all of which are placed low on the prestige scale of occupations.

It is also quite often claimed that many native people have a basic dislike of indoor work and would usually much prefer work out of doors. The data presented in Table 13 show that *all* groups agreed in ranking work requiring both indoor and outdoor activities first, indoor work in second or third position, and indicated *least* preference for work requiring mostly outdoor activities. This is consistent with the scale of occupations placing semi-professional and

Table 9 – Five highest and five lowest ranking occupational titles by ethnic group and place of instruction, Northern pupil respondents

Group	Five Highest Ranking Titles	Five Lowest Ranking Titles
Delta Eskimo	airplane pilot radio operator electrician banker airline stewardess	garbageman bartender warehouseman janitor reindeer herder
Delta Indian	airline stewardess nurse's aide airplane pilot radio operator typist/office worker	garbageman reindeer herder janitor warehouseman bartender
Delta Métis	airplane pilot electrician nurse airline stewardess typist/office worker	garbageman reindeer herder janitor warehouseman general labourer
Delta EuroCanadian	scientist lawyer doctor airplane pilot nurse	garbageman janitor reindeer herder hunter and trapper bartender
Yellowknife Eskimo	nurse's aide radio operator airline stewardess electrician airplane pilot	laundry worker garbageman minister or priest janitor barge crew
Yellowknife Indian	game officer settlement administrator typist/office worker doctor airplane pilot	garbageman laundry worker reindeer herder waitress bartender
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	lawyer airplane pilot scientist doctor airline stewardess	garbageman minister or priest reindeer herder miner laundry worker
Churchill Eskimo	clerk in a store typist/office worker snowmobile repairman airplane pilot settlement administrator	garbageman reindeer herder bartender janitor soldier in the Army
Frobisher Eskimo	airplane pilot electrician airplane mechanic radio operator soldier in the Army	garbageman trader reindeer herder barber bartender
Frobisher EuroCanadian	airplane pilot doctor scientist airline stewardess airplane mechanic	garbageman janitor reindeer herder miner warehouseman

clerical/occupations in high positions and unskilled labouring and traditional outdoor fur-trade activities at the low end of the scale of evaluation.

One also hears the claim that native people would prefer the opportunity to work in wage employment for only one or two days a week, allowing more freedom to pursue traditional land-based subsistence activities than continuous employment with fixed hours of work would permit. Only Mackenzie delta Eskimos and Indians and Churchill and Frobisher Bay Eskimos show a statistically significant small minority indicating preference for reduced hours of work per week. The majority of respondents in all groups indicate a preference for weekly hours of work close to the conventional forty-hour work week (See Table 14).

Another common claim is that native people express a general dislike for larger urban centres and a relatively greater preference for life in the smaller Arctic traditional fur-trade settlements or on the land. Questionnaire data on rank-order preference for type of settlement, while showing some inter-group differences, reflect a definite trend of preference for large urban centres in the Arctic, followed by southern Canadian cities, then traditional smaller Arctic settlements, followed by isolated work camps and construction sites, and a generally very strong agreement that 'life on the land' is the least desirable. These data are presented in Table 15. The medians are based on a five-point scale of preference, so that medians closest to 1.0 indicate highest preference and those closest to 5.0 indicate least preference. The greatest degree of agreement between groups is not along ethnic lines, but along regional lines. Note that all Mackenzie delta groups and those of Frobisher Bay rank southern Canadian cities highest with large urban centres in the Arctic in second place. All of the Yellowknife groups place northern urban centres in the most preferred category with Métis and EuroCanadian placing southern cities second, while Indians and Eskimos place small traditional settlements in second place. Only Eskimos from the Churchill area show a first-order preference for smaller more traditional Arctic settlements.

It is also a commonly held belief that native persons presented with the offer of an attractive job in another settlement would sooner refuse the job completely and remain in their own settlements. In order to have some measure of native pupils' reactions to such a problem, all pupils were asked to respond to the following question :

Suppose you are a married man living in your home settlement. You have just been offered a job in another area. This job offers more money than your present job. What do you think you ought to do ? Place a check-mark next to the alternative of your choice. (Check only one alternative.)

_____ Take the job and let your family stay on living in your home settlement?
 _____ Turn down the job?
 _____ Move away with your family but try to keep a place in your home settlement as a permanent home?
 _____ Take the job and move?

We shall refer to this question as the "Move Problem". Responses to the problem are tabulated in Table 16. For some reason not readily understandable, a statistically significant number of respondents in the Mackenzie delta (especially Indians, Eskimos, and Métis) declined to answer this question. Otherwise, there is a statistically significant trend for a majority of EuroCanadians to solve the "Move Problem" by indicating a distinct willingness to "take the job and move". A statistically significant trend exists in the native sub-groups to choose first to "take the job, move away with the family, but keep a place in the settlement as a permanent home" with a second choice of "moving away to take the job, leaving the family in the settlement". This trend of response among native pupils appears to be consistent with a well-known pattern among native people: to accept a job or training program in another place, but to seek to return to their home settlement after a few months or a year or so. It is not known exactly what all of the elements in this pattern are, but responses to this "Move Problem" provide one of the clearest differentiations between native and EuroCanadian pupils.

Analysis of Responses II: Teachers

Teachers were asked to complete several sections of the questionnaire administered to pupils with instructions to complete it "as you think a native person (either Eskimo, Indian, or Métis) of high-school age would do". Comparison of teachers' responses to the questionnaire should provide some measure of the relationship between pupils' self-conceived evaluations and aspirations related to

Table 11 – Five personally most preferred occupations by percentage of persons so indicating, Northern pupil respondents, (Yellowknife, Churchill, Frobisher Bay only)

Category	Most Personally Preferred Occupations	
	Title	%
Yellowknife Eskimo	airplane pilot	20.0
	electrician	12.0
	radio operator	12.0
	typist/office worker	8.0
	nurse	8.0
Yellowknife Indian	airline stewardess	14.3
	game officer	10.7
	teacher	10.7
	radio operator	7.1
	typist/office worker	7.1
Yellowknife Métis	typist/office worker	18.6
	game officer	11.6
	electrician	11.6
	airline stewardess	11.6
	teacher	7.0
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	airline stewardess	10.1
	teacher	9.5
	airplane pilot	9.2
	typist/office worker	7.0
	lawyer	6.4
Churchill Eskimo	clerk in a store	13.4
	small motor repairman	8.2
	nurse's aide	7.8
	airplane pilot	7.9
	typist/office worker	6.9
Frobisher Eskimo	airplane pilot	40.0
	clerk in a store	20.0
	post office clerk	6.7
	airline stewardess	6.7
	electrician	6.7
Frobisher EuroCanadian	airplane pilot	22.6
	teacher	12.9
	airline stewardess	12.9
	typist/office worker	9.7
	airplane mechanic	9.7

Table 10 – Northern pupil respondents' individual occupational preferences by category

	No. of Titles Surveyed	Delta Eskimos, Indians, Métis combined %		Delta Euro- Canadian %	Yellow- knife Eskimo %	Yellow- knife Indian %	Yellow- knife Métis %	Yellow- knife Euro- Canadian %	Churchill Eskimo %	Frobisher Eskimo %	Frobisher Euro- Canadian %
1. Professional	5	7.26	26.04	3.45	8.48	7.50	26.58	7.85	14.28	19.35	
2. Semi-professional	3	19.55	16.66	24.13	12.33	2.50	14.62	12.66	42.86	22.59	
3. Proprietary and managerial	5	2.22	0.00	0.00	3.78	7.50	3.66	3.55	0.00	6.45	
4. Clerical and sales	5	35.75	4.16	20.69	23.87	32.50	22.23	24.45	28.57	22.59	
5. Skilled	10	15.64	30.20	20.69	19.17	22.50	15.95	17.97	7.14	16.12	
6. Semi-skilled	10	12.84	13.54	27.59	20.45	22.50	13.29	21.30	0.00	6.45	
7. Unskilled	10	6.70	8.33	3.45	11.89	5.00	3.66	12.22	7.14	6.45	
		99.96	98.93	100.00	99.97	100.00	99.99	100.00	99.99	100.00	

Table 12 – Preference for type of employer, Northern pupil respondents

*Indicates rank order of preference

Category	SMALL PRIVATE COMPANY			LARGE CORPORATION			SELF EMPLOYMENT		
	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred
Delta Eskimo	18.7	50.0*	22.5	53.7*	12.5	23.7	21.2	26.2	40.0*
Delta Indian	21.7	55.1*	11.6	63.8*	15.9	11.6	5.8	17.4	62.3*
Delta Métis	22.2	44.4*	24.1	55.6*	18.5	20.4	18.5	27.8	44.4*
Delta EuroCanadian	20.3	51.2*	19.3	58.4*	14.9	18.4	14.9	23.2	49.7*
Yellowknife Eskimo	12.0	60.0*	24.0	68.0*	12.0	20.0	20.0	24.0	52.0*
Yellowknife Indian	25.0	60.7*	10.7	60.7*	17.9	17.9	10.7	17.9	67.9*
Yellowknife Métis	23.3	60.5*	11.6	65.1*	9.3	23.3	9.3	25.6	60.5*
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	27.5	46.2*	22.6	39.4*	26.6	31.5	31.5	23.9	42.2*
Churchill Eskimo	28.9	52.2*	18.1	61.2*	21.1	16.8	9.5	25.9	63.8*
Frobisher Eskimo	20.0	40.0*	40.0	53.3*	33.3	13.3	26.7	26.7	26.7*
Frobisher EuroCanadian	29.0	38.7*	29.0	58.1*	25.8	12.9	9.7	32.3	54.8*

Note: excludes omits or "don't know"

Table 13 – Preferences for indoor and outdoor work, Northern pupil respondents

*Indicates rank order of preference

Category	INDOOR WORK			OUTDOOR WORK			WORK BOTH INDOOR/OUTDOOR		
	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred
Delta Eskimo	18.8	31.2	37.5*	13.7	35.0	38.7*	63.7*	20.0	10.0
Delta Indian	18.8	49.3*	20.3	15.9	17.4	56.5*	62.3*	21.7	11.6
Delta Métis	25.9	25.9	42.6*	16.7	27.8	48.1*	53.7*	38.9	3.7
Delta EuroCanadian	23.7	37.1*	31.9	12.4	25.8	54.6*	59.8*	28.9	6.2
Yellowknife Eskimo	24.0	32.0	40.0*	12.0	32.0	52.0*	64.0*	32.0	4.0
Yellowknife Indian	26.7	46.7	26.7*	13.3	26.7	60.0*	60.0*	26.7	13.3
Yellowknife Métis	25.6	27.9	44.2*	9.3	32.6	55.8*	62.8*	32.6	2.3
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	19.3	30.6	45.9*	14.1	34.6	47.1*	66.7*	29.7	2.1
Churchill Eskimo	32.8	25.9	40.1*	12.9	38.8	47.0*	53.0*	34.5	11.2
Frobisher Eskimo	24.0	32.0	40.0*	12.0	32.0	52.0*	64.0*	32.0	4.0
Frobisher EuroCanadian	32.3	29.0	35.5*	6.5	35.5	54.8*	58.1*	32.3	9.7

Note: excludes omits or "don't know"

occupations and teachers' beliefs about these evaluations and aspirations. Considering the small number of teachers in these schools (fifty-five completed the questionnaire) and a certain ambiguity in the set task (i.e. complete it "as if you were a native student") the measure can at best be considered as approximate. In a sense, the problem of numbers of respondents (fifty-five teachers and just over five hundred and fifty native pupils) is insoluble. The populations surveyed were virtually complete censuses of all possible respondents in these schools. In a certain sense any trend has significance under these conditions and cannot be attributed to problems of sampling. With these precautions in mind, we now examine the relationship of teachers' and pupils' responses to the questionnaire.

Prestige Ranking of Occupations

A preliminary comparison between the prestige ranking of occupations by Mackenzie delta teachers on the one hand

Table 14 – Preferred total hours of work per week, Northern pupil respondents by percentage

*Indicates most preferred alternative

Category	Alternative			
	10-20 hrs./wk.	20-30 hrs./wk.	30-40 hrs./wk.	40-50 hrs./wk.
Delta Eskimo	2.5	12.5	32.5	38.7*
Delta Indian	4.4	11.6	50.7*	27.5
Delta Métis	0	5.6	42.6*	31.5
Delta EuroCanadian	0	6.2	55.7*	36.1
Yellowknife Eskimo	0	4.0	48.0*	48.0*
Yellowknife Indian	0	3.6	57.1*	39.3
Yellowknife Métis	0	4.7	48.8*	44.2
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	0.6	7.6	54.1*	37.0
Churchill Eskimo	5.6	7.3	43.1	44.0*
Frobisher Eskimo	6.7	13.3	53.3*	26.7
Frobisher EuroCanadian	6.5	3.2	51.6*	38.7

Note: excludes omits or "don't know"

Table 15 – Rank-order preferences for type of settlement, Northern pupil respondents

Category of Settlement	Delta Eskimo Md. * R.*	Delta Indian Md. R.	Delta Métis Md. R.	Delta Euro-Canadian Md. R.	Yellowknife Eskimo Md. R.	Yellowknife Indian Md. R.	Yellowknife Métis Md. R.	Yellowknife Euro-Canadian Md. R.	Churchill Eskimo Md. R.	Frobisher Eskimo Md. R.	Frobisher Euro-Canadian Md. R.
1. Southern Canadian Cities	2.3 (1)	1.8 (1)	2.1 (1)	1.5 (1)	3.3 (3)	3.1 (3)	2.4 (2)	2.1 (2)	2.9 (3)	1.0 (1)	1.0 (1)
2. Large Northern Towns	2.6 (2)	2.7 (2)	3.5 (2)	3.5 (2)	1.0 (1)	1.0 (1)	1.5 (1)	1.6 (1)	2.2 (2)	2.1 (2)	2.0 (2)
3. Smaller Traditional Arctic Settlements	3.6 (4)	3.7 (3)	4.5 (3)	4.5 (3)	1.9 (2)	2.3 (2)	2.9 (3)	3.2 (3)	1.9 (1)	3.1 (3)	2.7 (3)
4. Isolated Work Camps (e.g. DEW line, oil rig sites)	2.8 (3)	4.1 (4)	4.6 (4)	4.6 (4)	3.8 (4)	4.3 (5)	3.8 (4)	3.8 (4)	3.9 (4)	4.0 (4)	4.1 (4)
5. On the Land	4.6 (5)	4.6 (5)	4.8 (5)	4.8 (5)	4.2 (5)	4.1 (4)	3.9 (5)	3.9 (5)	4.1 (5)	4.6 (5)	4.4 (5)

*Md. = median of responses on a five-point scale *R. = rank-order of preference

Table 16 – Native pupil respondents' solutions to "the move problem" (see text).

	Take job but leave family		Turn down job		Take job, move with family, but keep a place in home settlement		Take job and move		Omit	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Delta Eskimo	20	25.0	0	—	21	26.2	21	28.7	18	20.0
Delta Indian	16	23.2	2	2.9	19	27.5	21	31.9	10	14.5
Delta Métis	11	20.4	2	3.7	15	27.8	12	22.2	14	25.9
Delta EuroCanadian	5	5.1	5	5.1	19	19.6	59	60.8	9	9.3
Yellowknife Eskimo	3	12.0	3	12.0	11	44.0	8	32.0	—	—
Yellowknife Indian	—	—	—	—	13	46.4	15	53.6	—	—
Yellowknife Métis	1	2.3	2	4.7	27	62.8	12	27.9	1	2.3
Yellowknife EuroCanadian	16	4.0	29	8.9	78	23.9	193	59.0	11	3.4
Churchill Eskimo	61	26.3	14	6.0	91	39.2	66	28.4	—	—
Frobisher Eskimo	6	40.0	1	6.7	4	26.7	4	26.7	—	—
Frobisher EuroCanadian	3	9.7	1	3.2	13	41.9	14	45.2	—	—

and those from Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay on the other indicates that they should be treated as two separate populations (hereafter known as Teachers I (Mackenzie delta), and Teachers II (Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay). The correlation (Spearman's rho = r_s) between these two populations was only moderately high (+ .65, significant at .01), indicating a common variance (r_s^2) of only .42 (or 42 per cent).

For purposes of comparison with teachers' responses, native pupils were divided into two similar regional populations : Pupils I – all native pupils, Mackenzie delta ; Pupils II – all native pupils at Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay. The four-way comparison between these pupil and teacher populations is as follows :

Correlation (Spearman's rho) between occupational prestige rankings of Northern pupils I and II, and Northern teachers' I and II conceptions of pupils' ranking

	Teachers I	Teachers II
Pupils I	+ .49	+ .41
Pupils II	+ .59	+ .72

Teachers' conceptions of pupils' occupational evaluations bears least relationship to pupils' own evaluations in the Mackenzie delta (r_s + .41 to + .49). In the delta, between pupils' evaluation profiles and teachers' conception of these profiles there is a low measure of common variance (17 percent to 24 percent). The highest relationship between pupils' and teachers' profiles is in Yellowknife,

Table 17 – Occupational titles showing greatest difference on pupil and teacher profiles.

Occupational title	Rank teachers I	Rank pupils I	Occupational title	Rank teachers II	Rank pupils II
banker	43	8	warehouseman	13	34.5
airplane pilot	37	1	scientist	46	26
scientist	47	19	lawyer	48	28
teacher	42	14	hunter and trapper	2.3	22
bulldozer operator	4	23	bulldozer operator	2.3	21
barge crew	17.25	39	banker	44.5	17.5
warehouseman	13	45	contractor	39	23
small motor repairman	15	36	trader	22.3	38
lawyer	34.5	13	radio operator	19.5	5
boat-builder	17.25	38	naval seaman	46.5	33

Table 18 – Pupils' preferences for type of settlement compared with teachers' statements of what they believe pupils' preferences to be.

Type of Settlement	Teachers I		Teachers II		Pupils I		Pupils II	
	Md.*	R.*	Md.	R.	Md.	R.	Md.	R.
1. Southern Canadian cities	3.6	(5)	4.9	(5)	1.9	(1)	2.7	(3)
2. Large northern towns	2.1	(2)	2.0	(2)	2.8	(2)	1.9	(1)
3. Smaller traditional Arctic settlements	2.6	(4)	1.8	(1)	3.7	(3)	2.1	(2)
4. Isolated work camps (DEW line, oil rig sites)	2.2	(3)	3.6	(4)	3.8	(4)	3.9	(4)
5. On the land	1.7	(1)	3.0	(3)	4.6	(5)	4.1	(5)

*Md. = median of responses on a five-point scale. *R. = rank-order of preference.

Table 19 – Teachers' estimation of native pupils' preferences for indoor and outdoor work.

*Indicates rank order of preference

Category	INDOOR WORK				OUTDOOR WORK				WORK BOTH INDOOR/OUTDOOR			
	Percentage indicating			DK	Percentage indicating			DK	Percentage indicating			DK
	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred		most preferred	second preferred	least preferred		most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	
Teachers I	5.5	22.2	72.2*	–	38.9*	38.9*	22.2	–	50.0*	38.9	11.1	–
Teachers II	11.8	26.5	58.8*	2.9	29.4	32.4	35.3*	2.9	55.9*	38.2	2.9	2.9
Pupils I	23.1	40.1*	36.8	–	16.7	30.1	53.2*	–	62.3*	28.1	9.5	–
Pupils II	31.6	29.0	37.6*	1.7	11.5	35.6	51.1*	1.7	55.7*	33.3	9.5	1.4

Note: excludes omits or "don't know"

Table 20 – Teachers' estimation of native pupils' preferences for type of employer.

*Indicates rank order of preference

Category	LARGE CORPORATION			SMALL COMPANY			SELF-EMPLOYMENT		
	Percentage indicating			Percentage indicating			Percentage indicating		
	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred	most preferred	second preferred	least preferred
Teachers I	38.9*	33.3	27.8	16.7	55.5*	27.8	38.9	16.7	44.4*
Teachers II	20.6	55.9*	23.5	47.1*	20.6	32.4	32.4	23.5	44.1*
Pupils I	62.9*	16.7	20.4	22.4	56.7*	20.8	17.4	27.0	55.6*
Pupils II	61.5*	19.5	17.8	26.4	54.0*	17.8	11.2	24.7	62.4*

Note: excludes omits or "don't know"

Churchill, and Frobisher Bay. Curiously, the teachers of the Mackenzie delta seem to have a closer conception of students' evaluations in Yellowknife, Churchill, and Frobisher Bay than they do of the pupils in their own area. The reason for this is not clear, but it is possible that teachers throughout the North have based their conceptions of students' characteristics on Eastern Arctic stereotypes or models inappropriate to the Mackenzie delta. A number of teachers in the Mackenzie delta indicate they had taught in the Eastern Arctic before moving to the delta.

Table 17 shows the occupational titles for which there was greatest student/teacher difference. Teachers tend to underrate drastically pupils' evaluations of scientific, professional, and managerial occupations (scientist, lawyer, teacher, banker), to overrate drastically their evaluations of menial unskilled and semi-skilled occupations (barge crew, warehouseman, small-motor repairman) and to overrate considerably their evaluations of such occupations as bulldozer operator, boat builder, and hunter and trapper.

Teachers' Conceptions of Pupils' Preferences for Conditions of Employment

Teachers were asked to indicate what they thought would be the rank order of preference by native pupils for several types of settlement in which to live and work. These responses are compared to native pupils' own responses in Table 18. It is clear that teachers considerably underrate pupils' evaluations of southern Canadian cities and overrate their evaluation for life on the land.

Teachers were also asked to estimate native pupils' preferences for work requiring indoor or outdoor activities. These responses are compared with those of native pupils in Table 19. There is a general order of agreement between native pupils' preferences for indoor and outdoor work, with the exception of Mackenzie delta teachers who considerably overrate native pupils' evaluation of outdoor work.

Data presented in Table 20 show that in terms of general rank order of preference Teachers I (Mackenzie delta) are in agreement with the pupil populations. Teachers II (Yellowknife, Churchill, Frobisher Bay) considerably underrate their pupils' high evaluation for work with large corporate employers and overrate their evaluation for work with small companies. An examination of the percentage responses shows that both groups of teachers feel that native pupils show a higher interest in self-employment than the pupils themselves indicate.

Conclusions

The main point of this study is a simple one : that ethnic differentiation in northern Canada accounts for little differentiation in evaluations of occupations. Rather, evaluations of occupations by the various ethnic groups are remarkably similar, especially where representatives of the ethnic groups examined come together in one "place of schooling". This is interpreted to mean that the type of culturalist position which assumes that ethnic groups in the North necessarily possess a residue of aboriginal cultural values and attitudes towards occupations incompatible with "modern" attitudes and values towards such aspects of contemporary northern life as the occupational system can safely be rejected. This does *not* say that there are *no* cultural differences between northern ethnic groups, even with respect to occupational evaluations ; simply that (a) these cultural differences seem not to follow ethnic group boundaries but to cross-cut them in significant ways, and (b) that these cultural differences seem to have little to do with aboriginal derivation and much more to do with learned responses to common experience with social structural characteristics which transcend ethnic boundaries. Simple ethnic labels such as Eskimo, Métis, Indian, and EuroCanadian almost certainly obscure significant cultural, regional, class, and other kinds of differentiation internal to these simple categories.

All of the ethnic groups examined in this study, within themselves, derive from diverse social backgrounds : EuroCanadians are mostly recent immigrants to the North from Southern Canada, the United States, or in a few cases from Europe ; Eskimos have their most immediate origins from all over the Canadian Arctic and northern Alaska and come from a variety of acculturative backgrounds equalling those of the Indians ; Métis are similarly diverse and spring from remote and recent miscegenation between Euro-Canadian males of diverse national origin and a wide variety of Indian and Eskimo women. Yet *within* each of these categories and *between* them is considerable similarity of occupational evaluations. Table 7 shows that the group showing highest internal similarity is Euro-Canadian (average internal correlation + .88) ; Métis are almost equally internally similar (internal correlation + .87) Indians and Eskimos show least internal homogeneity (both with internal correlations of + .73). The reasons for these differences of within-group similarity are still obscure. It is possible that future research may show that class differences between and within these groups account for a large proportion of this phenomenon.

It has also been shown that EuroCanadian teachers evaluate their students' responses to the occupational system as indicating preferences for outdoor, non-urban traditional occupations or occupations currently associated with native people considerably higher than the students

themselves in fact evaluate them. This is most true in the Western Arctic. This difference may indicate a tenacity among teachers of stereotypes about native people based on an aboriginal cultural residue model. Whether that is their source or not, teachers (particularly in the Western Arctic) indicate by their responses a belief in relatively high evaluations by native students of occupations having menial or relatively low social class connotations. Native students' own responses indicate this is not the case. Although a considerable amount of careful research on the implications of this state of affairs is required, it may well be demonstrated that relatively low upward social mobility for native students is not a feature of "low" occupational aspirations by native students, but rather a structuring of opportunities for them by powerful people in their lives operating on the assumption that there is indeed a prevalence of "low" occupational aspirations among them.

Of note is the clear tendency for teachers in both the Western and Eastern Arctic to make the assumption of "low" evaluations contradictory to students' own demonstrated evaluations in the Western Arctic but to have a closer estimate of Eastern Arctic students' evaluations. This may indicate a prevalence among all teachers of assumptions about native students which are appropriate to Eastern Arctic conditions but inappropriate to the West. In any case, it is clear that native students and their teachers operate within relatively discrete informational networks about the occupational system in the North. This may be true of teachers and students in many other areas, but the social consequences of it in the North cannot be easily dismissed. Future research now being planned is designed to assess these implications more fully.

Summary of Research Findings

1. Prestige ranking of occupations by northern students show highest similarities across ethnic lines between students educated in the same schools. "Place of instruction" seems to be the most powerful determinant of degree of similarity (see Table 7).
2. The greatest internal dissimilarities in occupational prestige ranking are within the Eskimo and Indian categories. The highest degree of internal similarity is within the Métis and EuroCanadian categories (see Table 8). Possibly this reflects greater regional, class, and acculturative differences within the Eskimo and Indian categories than within the Métis and EuroCanadian groups.
3. Less powerful a determinant of occupational prestige ranking similarities is ethnic affiliation. While less powerful than "place of instruction", ethnic affiliation is more powerful a determinant than type of home settlement (e.g. whether a student comes from a large urban centre or a

small traditional settlement has less effect on his prestige ranking of occupations than does his ethnic affiliation or place of instruction).

4. Northern students of all ethnic groups show a marked preference for cities and large urban centres as places to live and work (see Table 15).

5. Northern students of all ethnic groups show a strong preference for occupations in clerical and sales, proprietary and managerial, semi-professional, and professional categories, although EuroCanadians show distinctively higher preference for the professions than native students. Native students in Yellowknife and Churchill show higher preferences for skilled trades and semi-skilled occupations than other groups (see Tables 9, 10, 11).

6. Northern students of all ethnic groups show least preference for outdoor work, probably because outdoor work is associated with low-prestige occupations. Higher preference is given for occupations indoors (see Table 13).

7. Northern students of all ethnic groups show a preference for occupations providing 30 to 50 hours work a week (see Table 14).

8. Only EuroCanadian students show a marked preference to break all local ties in order to take a better job. Native students indicate a stronger tendency to preserve local ties (see Table 16).

9. Northern students of all ethnic groups show a marked preference for employment with large companies and low preference for self-employment (see Table 12).

10. Northern teachers strongly underrate the preference of native students for occupations at the higher end of the socio-economic scale and overrate their preferences for occupations at the lower end. Likewise, teachers strongly underrate native students' preferences for urban occupational settings and strongly overrate their preferences for traditional northern settlements or living and working on the land either in traditional fur-trade subsistence camps or isolated construction and resource extraction sites (see Tables 17, 18).

Appendix

Statistical Procedures

1. Coefficient of correlation, Spearman's rho (r_s) :

Medians of frequency responses by members of each ethnic group over five possible response positions for each occupational title were calculated by computer. These medians were then ranked for each ethnic group and correlated by the standard formula for Spearman's rho :

$$r_s = 1 - \frac{6 \times \text{sum of } D^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

where D = difference in rank

N = number of occupational titles.

2. Coefficient of determination, r_s^2 :

As an estimator *only* of common variance between two correlated sets of ranks, r_s was squared by analogy to the conversion of Pearson's r to the coefficient of determination r^2 . This measure (r_s^2) can only be seen as a *very* approximate measure of common variance and must not be seen as an exact estimator of r^2 .

3. Tests of significance:

By and large, tests of significance are inappropriate to the statistical measures used here since they are based on whole population censuses, and as such are not open to sampling anomalies or error. Unless otherwise indicated, for what they are worth in this context, all measures in this study are highly significant at the .01 level.

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